Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVI - No. 46 | NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1952 | PRICE: 10 CENTS

THE END OF AN ERA FOR AMERICAN LABOR

(See Page 2)

The Millstone About His Neck

Labor Needs Own Party To Beat Back Reaction

WORKERS VOTED IN LINE WITH POLICY OF UNIONS

The election returns were still coming in on Nov. 5 when the capitalist press started a concerted campaign to make it appear that there was a decisive shift of union members from the Democratic to the Republican column.

The editors of the **N. Y. Times** gleefully declared on Nov. 6 that "great numbers of trade union workers" voted for Eisenhower. For "proof" it pointed to "the sharp drop in the Democratic majorities in cities like Cleveland, Boston and New York." Arthur Krock of the **Times** claimed it was an "obvious fact" that "possibly as high as one-third" of the union members disregarded the advice of their leaders and supported Eisenhower.

The conclusions presented by these and many other papers were that the labor leaders had failed to "deliver" and that the workers "voted as they pleased" and not as they were "ordered." They all agreed that this was one of the finest things that could have happened.

But their joy was premature. As further information became available, it was shown that **The Militant** was correct last week when it wrote: "By and large the workers in the big cities and the Negroes stuck to the Democratic Party in about the same numbers as in 1948, with minor exceptions."

NATIONAL VOTE

It is true that nationally the Democrats got a minority of the vote and that their majorities in the big cities were reduced. But that does not mean that the Democrats lost any of the votes they had in 1948, either nationally or in the main working class centers. On the contrary:

Nationally, Stevenson's vote was over 27 million — three million more than Truman got in 1948, and more than Truman, Wallace and Thurmond got together.

While the Democratic majorities in the cities were lower than in 1948, this was not because they lost votes they had then but because they did not gain as many as the Republicans did. In fact, in almost all big cities the Democratic vote was slightly higher this year than four years ago.

In other words, contrary to the impression the capitalist press tried to give, the Democrats lost the election not because of any important shift among the workers but because there was an unusually big turnout of "new voters" among the middle classes, and most of them went to Eisenhower.

INDUSTRIAL COUNTIES

This fact became so obvious after a few days that the **Times** had to print an article that flatly contradicted the claims of its editors and Krock. On Nov. 9 Elie Abel, reporting from Detroit on what happened in seven Ohio and six Michigan industrial counties, showed that in each and every case Stevenson's vote was higher than Truman's in 1948.

This, Abel correctly wrote, "exploded as false" the assumption that "organized labor fumbled the job of getting out the big city vote." If one-fourth of the union members voted GOP in 1948, as is estimated, there is absolutely no reason to believe that a greater percentage voted that way this year.

The picture of workers "regimented by labor bosses" and voting under "orders" — presum-

(Continued on Page 2)

Late CIO Chief

PHILIP MURRAY

Leadership Issue Faces CIO with Murray's Death

The sudden death of CIO President Philip Murray has led to the postponement of the national CIO convention, originally scheduled to begin on Nov. 17 in Los Angeles, to Dec. 1 in Atlantic City. This change of plan was recommended to the CIO National Executive Board by a meeting of the vice presidents and executive officers.

In addition to the problems raised by the Republican victory and the defeat of the Democratic-labor coalition, the CIO is now confronted by Murray's death with a possible crisis of leadership. A long-existing but subdued conflict among factions in the CIO leadership, between whom Murray had acted as arbitrator, may flare into the open.

The issue of successor to Murray appears to lie between CIO Executive Vice President Allan S. Haywood and United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther, who represents a more ambitious and politically aggressive tendency. The next issues of **The Militant** will present articles summing up the role of Philip Murray and reporting developments in the CIO.

Ford Union Resolution Proposes New Political Road to CIO and PAC

By Art Preis

It is too early to assess the full effect on the American labor movement of the shock of the Republican landslide. But it is evident that among both the union ranks and leadership the impact of the defeat of the Democratic-labor coalition has induced considerable thought on the future political policy of organized labor.

Some among the ranks and local leaders, like those of Ford Local 600, CIO United Automobile Workers, have already drawn the conclusion that reaction cannot be halted by dependence on the Democratic Party and that labor must build its own party. Some among the top union leaders are already indicating that they are ready to "live with" the Republican regime.

An encouraging sign is that union workers are not apathetically accepting the election results and are trying to figure out their meaning and what to do next. The Nov. 8 **Ford Facts** of Local 600 notes that "at the change of shift Wednesday morning (Nov. 5) workers had long faces and worried looks. Little groups formed. Everywhere — questions, opinions, analysis, discussion." This, no doubt, was duplicated wherever workers gathered.

"POST MORTEMS"

Among the union bureaucrats, however, there has been a reluctance to discuss the elections and to analyze the causes for failure of the Democratic-labor coalition to contain reaction after 20 years of alleged "progress" under Democratic rule. **The Advance**, paper of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, on Nov. 15 asserted that "post mortems have no place in our affairs."

Post mortems are as essential in determining the cause of political deaths as in ascertaining the cause of physical deaths. We have just witnessed the death of a whole political era founded on the coalition of labor with the Democratic Party. What caused the demise? The workers need to know in order to develop a healthier political policy for the future.

The labor bureaucrats fear an objective and scientific post mortem of the election because it might expose their responsibility for the present disastrous political position of labor and the continued advance of reaction in the form of a Republican victory.

War Leader

GEN. EISENHOWER

LABOR'S SOLIDITY

The AFL leaders, many of whom are now seeking an unoccupied corner for themselves on the Republican bandwagon, try to blame the GOP victory on the workers. "The working men and women of the country," complains the Nov. 7 AFL **News-Reporter**, "voted right along with the rest of their fellow-Americans, despite endorsements of Stevenson by every major segment of organized labor."

That's false. The organized workers responded as they have in the past, and in even greater numbers, to the appeal of their union leaders to support the Democrats. This explains why

(Continued on page 2)

NEGRO VOTE WAS OVERWHELMINGLY DEMOCRATIC; NEW PROGRAM NEEDED

By George Lavan

Election returns have borne out what was apparent in the course of the campaign — the Negro people overwhelmingly supported the Democratic Party. In a preliminary survey of the voting in the Negro districts of 18 cities — both North and South — the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People reports that the ratio was about three-to-one for Stevenson. In some cities such as Detroit and Durham, N. C., the ratio was as nigh as nine-to-one.

What were the principal reasons for this sentiment on the part of the Negro people? First and foremost was the knowledge that their most open enemies — the Dixiecrats — were pro-Eisenhower. This was demonstrated in the election itself in which the Dixiecrats delivered a substantial part of the South's electoral vote to the Republican Party. But it was made equally apparent during the campaign by the Eisenhower-Byrnes confab and by the support given Eisenhower by a majority (in circulation) of the Southern press.

EFFECT ON FEPC

Then, too, the Negro people felt that of all the politicians on the national stage, Truman — even with his purely verbal support of civil rights — was most prominently identified with an FEPC program. They believed that his identification with this had been responsible for his inability to secure the Democratic nomination — despite the reasons he gave for not running again. To have a president deprived of re-nomination because of his civil rights stand was a bad enough precedent; to have his party — even with a weaker civil-rights plank — repudiated at the polls would be even worse. Negro voters feared that a Republican victory would not only strengthen the Southern politicians and other white supremacists in the Democratic Party but would make politicians in the future extremely wary of even verbal support of anti-Jim Crow legislation.

Another element in the overwhelming support given by Negro voters to Stevenson was the now-recognized alliance between oppressed minorities and the labor movement. Not only do Negro members of unions feel that the labor movement is the most dependable ally of the Negro people, but most Negroes who are not union members, or even workers, feel this too. Negroes and labor had both suffered the same defeat and humiliation at the Democratic convention in Chicago. Labor had swallowed its chagrin. The Negro leaders did the same and campaigned for Stevenson and Sparkman as the "lesser evil" ticket.

ARGUMENTS FAIL

Although the Republicans made great efforts to win the Negro vote and although they had strong arguments such as the contrast in promises and performance of Truman on civil rights and the

(Continued on page 2)

SWP Election News

Campaigning for Socialism

By George Clarke

Information on the number of votes received by Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss has not yet been made available by the election boards in the seven states where the Socialist Workers Party was on the ballot. First unofficial reports in few major cities reveal, however, that the SWP vote will probably be below our 1948 total of 14,000. The small vote was characteristic: There were slim pickings for all the radical parties at the ballot box in 1952. Judging by the New York returns, the national Progressive Party vote, well over a million in 1948, dropped to around one-eighth its size this year. The bottom dropped out of the Socialist Party vote. And the Socialist Labor Party, which probably spent more money than all the other radical parties together on radio and TV time, newspaper ads and leaflets, seems to have held its own as compared with 1948.

We feel no dismay or disappointment in making this report. We expected this outcome so far as the radicals were concerned. The combination of "war boom" and anti-communist hysteria has left a deep imprint over the last four years. It will take a big shake-up to stir the country along class and socialist lines and to align it with the thinking of working people in the rest of the world. That shake-up is inevitable, but it hasn't come yet.

Difficult as it was, we considered it our task in this election campaign to blaze a trail for the coming radicalization of the American people. It was our purpose to explain the real state of the nation, and the terrible dangers it faces by taking Wall Street's road of world counter-revolutionary war. **We were in** the campaign to expose the trend to the police state, to show the true origin of McCarthyism. We tried to demonstrate how the independent strength of the workers could be rallied in their own interests, how a movement could be mobilized against the war and the witch hunt. Above all, we attempted to show the prime importance of the socialist program.

(Continued on Page 2)

Trucks Act Moves To Supreme Court

The U.S. Supreme Court announced on Nov. 10 that it will rule on the constitutionality of Michigan's police-state Trucks Law on an appeal brought by the Communist Party.

The Trucks Law is one of the most flagrantly unconstitutional laws passed during the current witch-hunt hysteria. Not only does it violate free speech and free assembly but it has provisions that can be used against strikers and unions. The law requires members and sympathizers of proscribed organizations to register with the state police and answer any questions the police might desire to ask them. Failure to register carries a 10-year prison term and $10,000 fine. First action under this law was the removal from the Michigan ballot of the Socialist Workers Party. This move was later beaten.

BOLIVIAN TIN DECREE SCORES BRUTAL FOREIGN OWNERSHIP

On October 31, the government of Bolivia nationalized the tin mines of the foreign-owned Big Three companies, Patino, Hochschild and Aramayo. The decree was proclaimed at ceremonies in Catavi, chief center of the Patino Company, which is principally owned by U.S. capital.

Catavi has special meaning for the people of Bolivia. Here in 1942 the mine owners met the demand for a wage increase by massacring over 1,000 miners. Catavi's soil was red with blood again in 1949 when for days miners fought company police and army troops sent to smash their union.

The nationalization decree consists of two major sections. First, a series of preambles explaining and justifying to the world the government's action in taking over the Big Three mines. Then, the actual provisions of the nationalization.

PLUNDERED BOLIVIA

The preamble explains how the tin millionaires exploited the whole Bolivian people and prevented other sectors of the economy such as agriculture, cattle raising and industry from developing.

The Big Three companies controlled the government by bribery, corruption and intimidation of officials. They controlled the political parties and newspapers. They persecuted those who opposed them and when a government became reluctant to do their bidding they organize military coup d'etats.

The preamble also describes the inhuman working conditions imposed by the companies and tells how demands by the workers for increased wages were met with firings, persecution and mass killings.

GRANT INDEMNIFICATION

The decree provides for indemnification of the companies. However, this is to be paid only when the companies settle the taxes, fines and sums of which they defrauded the government by illegal foreign-exchange transactions. This is many times the valuation of the mines.

The mines are to be operated by a government-appointed Bolivian Mining Corporation. National and foreign employees of the confiscated companies are guaranteed all their legal rights.

The final article of the decree declares that mine workers will exercise control over the mines through participation of labor delegates.

'Now Is Not the Time'--A Moth-Eaten Alibi

By Joseph Keller

When John L. Lewis landed the punch "heard round the world" on the jaw of "Big Bill" Hutcheson at the October 1935 AFL convention, industrial unionism was not the only issue before that historic gathering. It also debated a resolution calling for a labor party. This resolution, which won substantial support, was finally defeated by the AFL leaders who argued that they agreed "in principle" with the idea of a labor party but "now is not the time."

Since then, at every critical juncture for labor, the question of a labor party has been placed on the agenda. And each time, union leaders agree with the need, but side-track building a labor party with the plaint used by the AFL moss-backs 17 years ago: "Now is not the time."

RANKS RESTIVE

Dissatisfaction with Roosevelt's meager first-term concessions created such demand for a labor party tht the top union officialdom, particularly of the new CIO, had to take extraordinary measures in 1936 to divert this sentiment into support of Roosevelt for a second term.

At the May 1936 convention of the United Automobile workers, a resolution calling for a labor party was adopted overwhelmingly. John L. Lewis, then the most powerful figure in American labor, rushed to the UAW convention to get it to pass a rider to the labor party resolution to endorse Roosevelt once more.

LEAGUE FOUNDED

Then United Mine Workers President Lewis, George Berry of the Printing Pressmen and Sidney Hillman, late president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, established Labor's Non-Partisan League to give the union workers what appeared to be an independent labor political organization, but which would support Roosevelt and not challenge the rule of the two old parties. The LNPL was represented as precursor to a labor party.

In New York state, however, they had to form the American Labor Party, including all CIO unions and a number of AFL, because hundreds of thousands of unionists with a radical tradition, Socialist or Communist, refused to accept the LNPL as a substitute for labor's own class party.

The ALP could never realize its potentialities or spread beyond New York because its leaders, mainly Social Democrats and Stalinists, used the ALP primarily to line up labor votes for capitalist politicians. They bargained for favors between the Democratic and Republican machines in New York state and city. While backing Rooseveltian politics, the Social-Democratic and Stalinist leaders fought each other for control of the ALP. In 1944, Dubinsky of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers and his Social-Democrat associates split the ALP and formed the Liberal Party. In 1948, all but the few Stalinist-led unions quit the ALP when the Stalinists shoved through an endorsement of Wallace. With no labor base, the ALP was reduced by 1952 to a shell.

Each election after 1936 found the workers less enthusiastic for the Democratic Party and Roosevelt. In the Nov. 1942 elections, the Republicans got 50.6% of the popular vote to the Democrats' 47.4% and the GOP came near to capturing Congress. Labor party sentiment was widespread and vocal. At a Philadelphia meeting in March 1943 of representatives of 40 labor organizations in Pennsylvania, James McDevitt, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, admitted that many workers in that state waited the day of a labor party. But he added, "The day is not yet."

LOCAL MOVEMENTS

Active movements for formation of a labor party sprang up in key industrial states like Michigan and New Jersey. The Wayne County (Detroit) LNPL in June 1943 called on the state CIO to form an independent labor party. At the Michigan CIO convention a few weeks later, one resolution for a labor party was defeated only by the substitution of another which said that "support of Roosevelt in Michigan can best be served by an independent labor party."

To counteract this movement for a labor party, CIO leaders Hillman, Philip Murray, Walter Reuther and the Stalinists with whom they then played ball, set up the CIO Political Action Committee on the lines of the old LNPL. As the result of PAC activity, Hillman was later able to boast with a sigh of relief that "third party moves in Michigan, New Jersey and Pennsylvania have died out."

But not for long. In March 1944, some 415 delegates from 85 CIO and AFL unions in Michigan, representing a quarter of a million members, launched a labor party which they called the Michigan Commonwealth Federation. But it was turned into an electioneering machine for Roosevelt and Truman. It dwindled away because of the opposition and sabotage of top union leaders.

By 1948, however, so great was the antipathy in labor's ranks to Truman, that union leaders were muttering threats publicly about forming a third party. UAW-CIO President Reuther in April called Truman "hopelessly inadequate" and in August proposed "a new political alignment" — after elections.

At the UAW convention in April 1951 overwhelming sentiment was voiced for a labor party. Only an impassioned plea by Reuther that "this sentiment is fine . . . but the timing is bad" was able to hold back the labor party tide.

As the 1952 campaign got under way, there was not a labor leader who opposed a labor party "in principle." Rather, they spoke like Joseph Curran, President of the CIO National Maritime Union, who said in the May 1, 1952, **Pilot**, that if only there were "one labor movement and labor unity" it would "be possible to think in terms of a third party." But, alas, "any effort to talk third party this year, would, without doubt, split the progressive forces and throw the election to the reactionary Republicans."

But there was "labor unity" — behind the Democrats. The "progressive forces" were not "split" by a "third party." Yet, this did not prevent the reactionary Republicans from winning. If labor over the past 16 years had built its own powerful party, with a program to attract all the oppressed and disaffected, there might have been a government of labor, farmers and the minorities in Washington today.

An Era Ends for Labor as Democrats Go Out

Unions' 20-Year Support of Regime Brought Few Gains, Many Betrayals

By Harry Frankel

The passing of the Democratic Party from power marks the end of an era for labor. For the past 20 years, the labor movement has consistently supported the administration party. That relationship is now shattered. Precisely what new relations the labor movement will form in American politics remain to be seen.

The Democratic Party has leaned heavily, both in operating the capitalist government and in electoral contests with the Republicans, on social demagogy, which means the sowing of illusions among the masses. An important peculiarity of the present situation is that the era is ended, but the illusions remain. The Democratic Party did not lose power in a shift to the left, in which a labor or radical party was beneficiary, but in a rightward swing, in which the organized workers continued to support the Democratic Party to the end.

The Democratic administrations since 1940 have relied for popular support chiefly upon illusions which were built up in the earlier days of 1933-39. The New Deal record has never yet been adequately summarized, and certainly is not yet adequately understood by the mass of the people, but Roosevelt himself made a good start in a 1936 speech in which he summed his work up this way:

SILK HAT LOST

"In the summer of 1936, a nice old gentleman wearing a silk hat fell off the end of a pier. He was unable to swim. A friend ran down the pier, dived overboard and pulled him out; but the silk hat floated off with the tide. After the old gentleman had been revived, he was effusive in his thanks. He praised his friend for saving his life. Today, three years later, the old gentleman is berating his friend because the silk hat was lost."

And that's about the size of it, straight from the horse's mouth. The Roosevelt regime shielded the capitalist class from an aroused populace, and helped it to ride out a tremendous storm of labor-farmer-middle class discontent with such paltry concessions that Roosevelt was able to symbolize them in a "hat."

It cannot be denied that the Roosevelt regime initiated certain new activities of the government in relation to the economy. But these were called forth by events which were absolutely unprecedented in U.S. history, and would have been forced from any administration. Never in any crisis had industrial production been cut by more than about one-fifth or one-fourth. In this crisis it was cut in half. Always in the past, the so-called "automatic recovery mechanism" of capitalism had acted to restore production and employment to pre-crisis levels, but in this case it never worked, and only World War II restored 1929 levels of production.

LABOR ON THE MARCH

Never before had millions of industrial workers and dispossessed farmers been on the march, threatening the very foundations of capitalism during a depression. In this crisis, the unions more than tripled their membership in a few years, storming the reactionary baronies of capitalism in Pittsburgh, Detroit, Akron, Flint, etc., and organized (even armed) farmers disputed with giant banks for control of farmland.

In this situation the workers gained a few small concessions, but gained nothing which improved their lot. They only wrung enough from the administration to slightly alleviate some of the worst effects of the crisis. In those cases where the labor movement remained independent of the administration, it won victories; in those cases where it permitted Roosevelt and some of the union leaders to talk them into trusting the government, it suffered setbacks, often very sharp defeats.

CROPS PLOWED UNDER

The Roosevelt regime met the crisis entirely with capitalist measures. How does a company act during a depression? It cuts production to the bone. This is what Roosevelt attempted to do in cases where production was not already slashed. For example in agriculture, Roosevelt forced the destruction of crops and livestock to keep prices up.

The NRA did not raise the real wages of workers. The slight pay gains that took place were more than cancelled out by the 25% rise in food costs under the two years of AAA, and by other cost-of-living increases. The rise in workers' real wages did not begin until the powerful forward surge of the CIO in 1935-37.

It has been widely said that Roosevelt "helped" to organize the workers into unions. It is true that labor tried to take advantage of Section 7A of the NRA which "recognized" labor's right to organize. But this clause was wrung from an unwilling administration by threats from such unions as the miners. When the NRA was in effect it gave great aid to the employers' company union movement. The NRA industry "codes" were framed almost entirely by business interests. Half the "unions" formed under section 7A were company unions, and NRA was called National Run Around by union militants in auto, textile, steel and rubber.

In the textile strike of Sept. 1934, the workers complained that the NRA permitted bosses to reduce factory output and speed up workers so that unemployment in some cases became worse than before. Roosevelt succeeded in getting these workers back on the job with promises, and in the end they got exactly nothing. **In those two years of NRA, strikes on a scale never before known took place, and more than 40 workers were killed, mainly by troops that were called into action in 16 states.**

ROOSEVELT

THE WAGNER ACT

After NRA was declared unconstitutional, labor demanded a new legislative guarantee of the right to organize. The Wagner Act has been held up in recent years as a "New Deal gift" to labor, but the facts tell another story.

One recent historian friendly to Rooseveltianism (Richard Hofstadter) is forced to conclude that "the Wagner Act had never been an administration measure," having been "buffeted about the legislative chambers for more than a year without winning Roosevelt's interest." Former Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins says in her book of reminiscences that Roosevelt took no part in developing the Wagner Act, "was hardly consulted about it," and "it did not particularly appeal to him when it was described to him." **Roosevelt's concession, on this as on other points, was an involuntary yielding to a powerful force which could have won far more had it been politically independent.**

1937 DECLINE

Nor did the New Deal bring an end to the permanent depression. Towards the end of 1937, after more than six and a half years of administration efforts on a capitalist basis, the economy fell into a new pit almost as deep as 1933, and fell at a far faster rate than the drop of 1929-33. In the entire Roosevelt pre-war period, 1933-39, unemployment averaged about 19% of the labor force, only a few percent lower than the worst years of Hoover.

The liberal economic historian Broadus Mitchell concludes: "In spite of all, in the autumn of 1939, after six and one half years of trying, the solid deposit of ten million unemployed remained, the tragic symbol of failure. . . The American people, until the attack on Pearl Harbor, were reluctant to go to war. Whether the administration was similarly reluctant seems doubtful. In any event, nothing served to get us out of the depression, or offered prospect of doing so, until war came along." And Hofstadter adds to this the following question: "What would have happened to the political fortunes of Franklin D. Roosevelt if the war had not created a new theater for his leadership?"

Hofstadter puts the question softly, but the answer is very clear: **Roosevelt would have been recorded in history as the total and abysmal failure that he was so far as the depression and recovery are concerned.**

WAR PROSPERITY

The labor movement was already moving leftward politically in the immediate pre-war years, and a labor party was closer in those days than possibly in any other time in recent American history. The war prosperity saved the Democratic Party from complete exposure in the eyes of the workers, and temporarily saved U.S. capitalism from a mass leftward shift that would have finished the system.

The New Deal, far from marking a new beginning in American life as so many liberals thought and as so many radicals pretended to think, was the beginning of permanent crisis. With 1929, the days of "normalcy" ended for good, and the "abnormal" — stagnation, decline, crisis — has taken its place as ruler in America.

The greatest single fact of our recent times is this: that since 1929, there has been not one single year of relative prosperity without a war or armaments economy. This fact is needed to put everything into perspective, and it is needed to get a proper understanding of the Roosevelt epoch. The measures that Roosevelt took might have been more successful and might have justified some of his "liberal" reputation if not for this situation which he was powerless to alter. The stable days of capitalism were ended, and nothing that he or any other individual can do **within the framework of capitalism** can exorcise the specter of permanent crisis.

(Next Week: New Deal Into War Deal.)

WOMEN IN FACTORY JOBS -- AN OLD STORY IN AMERICA

By Joyce Cowley

During the last war when millions of women were added to the labor force, I got interested in how this changed the lives of women and the many new problems it created — that is, I thought they were new.

I found that millions of women were added to the labor force in the first world war. There was an influx of women into industry in the Civil War and to a more limited extent, even during the Revolutionary War. In the early part of the 19th century, the majority of workers in manufacturing industries were women. In other words, whenever there was a shortage of male labor, employers forgot about women's place in the home and were only too happy to hire them.

In the New England cotton mills of Lowell and Waltham — the first big industry in this country — 90 to 95 per cent of the employees were women. The interesting thing is that the use of female labor was deliberate policy.

Adult male labor was hard to get in America in those frontier days. Francis Lowell, who introduced the power loom in this country, decided to use women workers in the first really modern factory which took in a bale of cotton at one end and turned out yards of cloth at the other.

Hannah Josephson in her book on the New England mill girls **The Golden Threads** explains some of Lowell's reasons. It was commonly assumed, she says, that girls and young women who were not incessantly occupied were "subject to temptation and vicious habits, as well as being a financial drain on their parents and a burden to society. By offering employment to this useless class, Lowell saw that he would not only have docile and tractable workers, but would overcome much of the opposition to his schemes that might be expected from the agricultural interests."

Another important factor was that the girls were not permanent residents. In case of unemployment, they could return to their homes in the country instead of, as one of Lowell's admirers said, "clamoring for work, ready for a riot and the destruction of property."

Lowell recruited his labor from the farms. To reassure parents, he established boarding houses strictly chaperoned by house mothers. The first New England factory towns were altogether different from the miserable industrial slums of England. Boarding houses were crowded and did not permit the girls much freedom, but they were clean, freshly painted, surrounded by lawns and flowers.

Employers constantly emphasized the well-bred, lady-like behavior of the girls. One Lowell manufacturer boasted that no mill girl had ever had an illegitimate baby — although there were a few hasty marriages. This again was in sharp contrast to conditions in the English mills and was due, of course, to the Puritanical training of the girls and was not a special achievement of the employers.

The girls soon got tired of hearing about their fine lady-like behavior, especially when they found that the most strictly enforced regulation was against any attempt to improve wages, hours and working conditions. The girls worked 12 to 14 hours a day. The atmosphere of the mills was suffocating because even in summer the overseers kept windows nailed shut to preserve the proper humidity in the air. From year to year there was a constant speed-up with a corresponding cut in piece rates. But nice girls were supposed to docilely accept these conditions. Any protest was improper and morally reprehensible.

Yet women in the New England textile mills led some of the earliest strikes in this country. Although they were denounced by the public and the press for their unseemly, unlady-like and un-American behavior, within a few years the shy New England farm girls were marching on picket lines.

WHY NEGRO PEOPLE VOTED SO HEAVILY FOR DEMOCRATS

(Continued from page 1)

100% anti-Negro voting record of Sparkman, the hundreds of thousands of dollars spent by them on ads in the Negro press made no dent. Every predominantly Negro ward in the country went Democratic.

The vote proves that the Negro people have no confidence whatsoever in the Republican Party as an alternative to the Democrats in the struggle for equal rights. Like labor they regard it as the party of Big Business — hostile to their advancement — and no possibility of a switchback by them to Republicanism exists.

IN THE SOUTH

Some people are of the opinion that a two-party system will now emerge in the South and that this will be good because the Negro people can throw their vote first one way, then the other, in return for concessions. However, there is no immediate prospect of this. The Eisenhower vote in the South was just that — a vote for the Republican presidential candidate. For state and local office the same vote was cast for the old Democratic machine. Indeed it was the one-party Democratic machine in revolt against the administration that dictated this strategy. Thus for the immediate future Negro voters in the South will be limited to what they have been doing for so long now — voting for "lesser evil" factions inside the Democratic Party.

All the calculations, hopes and plans of the Negro leaders have come to nought as a result of Eisenhower's election. "Friends" of the Negro people such as Truman and Stevenson are out of office, the Dixiecrats are riding higher than ever, the prospect for civil rights legislation is gloomy indeed. Looking back on it, the Negro people should ask themselves these questions: **Could we have cast our vote more effectively? Would our vote have commanded more attention and frightened the politicians more if we had cast it independently rather than as faithful captives of the Democratic Party?**

Had the Negro people cast their millions of votes for an independent candidate their political prospects would be indeed different than they are at this moment.

BOLDNESS PAYS OFF

That boldness pays off is well demonstrated by the strategy and victory of the Dixiecrats. These reactionaries are not taken for granted by either Democrats or Republicans now. They went into the Chicago convention with strong demands. These demands were in large part satisfied there. But when Stevenson wouldn't or couldn't back down sufficiently to satisfy them they walked out of the Democratic Party and went to Eisenhower.

Today they are sitting pretty. They are in the strongest position they ever have been in. Both parties are wooing them. Thus they have a strong hand in the decisions of both major parties. The Republican administration will grant them concessions and important positions in the hope of wooing them permanently into the Republican Party or at least of keeping them from returning completely to the Democratic fold. On the other hand the Democrats will try to outdo the Republicans to lure them back.

The Negro leaders are accustomed to pooh-pooh the suggestions of socialists and labor party proponents by saying that talk of political independence is impractical and that as Negro leaders they must play practical politics. On the basis of results, how practical have the "practical politics" of the Negro leaders proven? The Negro people might well study the practical politics of their enemies, the Dixiecrats. **The lesson is plain: independence and boldness pay off.**

Free Plants

The government has allowed to date a total of $23,287,285,000 in tax write-offs to corporations engaged on war-related projects — a method of handing the war profiteers new plants free through five-year tax amortizations.

Labor Needs Own Party to Defeat Reaction

(Continued from Page 1)

Stevenson in defeat got nearly three million more votes than Truman four years ago in victory. While union workers felt no enthusiasm for the Democrats, they nevertheless showed a remarkable solidity in following union political policy.

The defeat of the Democratic-labor coalition resulted primarily from a big shift in the vote of the lower middle class and, to a lesser degree, of the unorganized workers in the lowest income brackets. Thus, a major argument of the union leaders for continuing to support the Democratic Party instead of building a labor party has been proved fallacious. A labor party "at this time," they have claimed, would "alienate the middle class" and drive it into the arms of Republican reaction.

But it is the labor leaders' continued support for the rotten, discredited Democratic Party of war, inflation, high taxes and corruption and their failure to provide an independent political instrument and program to fight against capitalist war and economic insecurity that permitted the Republicans to capture dissatisfied middle-class voters.

The Democratic machine, it has become apparent to wide sections of the population, has not served the interests of the people. It has kept this country in war and war preparations throughout the major part of its 20-year rule, climaxed by the atrocious and costly intervention in the Korean civil war.

It initiated the witch hunt against civil liberties in 1940, with adoption of the Smith "Gag" Act, first used in 1941 against Socialist Workers Party and CIO leaders in Minneapolis. It extended the witch hunt, along with its "containment of Communism" war drive, through a vast "loyalty" purge in government, Smith Act trials of Stalinists, support of anti-labor and police-state laws and opposition to civil rights legislation.

As long ago as 1946, the late Philip Murray, CIO President, bewailed the fact that Congress under Democratic control had failed to enact any progressive social legislation "in nine years." In the past period, large sections of the people have been in a constant, nerve-wracking scramble for increased incomes to keep abreast of soaring prices and taxes, the result mainly of war costs.

SAW NO WAY OUT

The labor leaders were more concerned with preserving their coalition with the corrupt city bosses and Southern lynchocrats than in waging an independent political struggle on behalf of the people against the reactionary policies of the Democrats. Thus, many people saw no way out, especially from the Korean war, except to take a chance on the Republicans. At the same time, the most reactionary Republican elements were reinforced by the continuous trend to the right fostered by the Democrats since 1937.

Vice President Richard T. Gosser of the CIO auto workers, writing for the **Toledo Union Journal**, tries to explain "this tremendous Republican victory . . . in the simple fact that the people believed what Gen. Eisenhower had told them . . . believed the promises that the Republican candidate had made." This is standing matters on their head.

People no longer believed the promises of the Democrats. They were fed up with Democratic lies. They turned from the Democrats. And they went to the Republicans not from any great confidence in Eisenhower's promises, but in desperate hope that maybe he would give them a little — end the Korean fighting, if nothing else.

WHICH ROAD NOW?

Naturally, Republican promises will prove as false as Democratic. But the union officials are not thinking in terms of mobilizing labor's gigantic forces for a struggle against Republican reaction or of organizing independent political action that will draw to labor's side middle-class allies. Many are thinking of toadying up to the Republican administration.

Speaking for the AFL leaders, the **AFL News-Reporter** on Nov. 7 proclaimed: "It is time now to close ranks" — behind Eisenhower. "Unite now behind Gen. Eisenhower in the fight for survival against Communism," the AFL paper calls. The CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers leaders say in their paper **Advance**: "So long as the forthcoming Republican Administration does not tamper with the gains at home and the program abroad, it will have our support."

The union leaders dream of reconstituting the Democratic-labor coalition on the same basis as in the past or of founding a new coalition with the political victors. They are preparing new and worse betrayals and defeats of the workers.

The huge working-class vote can become a potent political force only if it is turned in an entirely new direction. That direction is pointed out by the General Council of Ford Local 600, which on Nov. 9 unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the forthcoming national CIO convention and CIO's Political Action Committee to discuss the setting up of an independent Farmer-Labor Party.

WORKERS FOLLOWED LINE OF UNIONS AND CONTINUED TO VOTE DEMOCRAT

(Continued from page 1)

ably against their own convictions — is a fantasy invented by the Big Business press for the purpose of horrifying its middle class readers. Such a thing never has happened, and can't.

When the workers follow the advice of their union leaders at the polls, they do so because they believe this advice to be generally correct, and for no other reason. That's how it was in 1952, and that's how it was in previous elections.

The thing that bothers the capitalist politicians and journalists is that the workers in recent years have begun to vote more or less as a class. This tendency, which is spontaneous and not forced, is a product of the lessons they have learned from union struggles and the need for labor solidarity against the employers on the economic field.

This tendency worries the ruling class even though up to now the working class vote continues to go to one of the capitalist parties. Why does it bother them so much?

Because they know that the conditions keeping the workers tied to the Democratic Party are going to be changed, perhaps very soon, and that when that happens the workers will break with the two-party system and start to build an independent labor party of their own. And they fear that the tendency of the workers to vote togeher will then impart a dynamism and speed to the growth of their new party that will make it a major force challenging both capitalist parties for power from the very beginning.

WALL ST. JOURNAL

The **Wall Street Journal**, commenting on the election results and advising the unions to stick to their "economic function," wrote in an editorial on Nov. 10.

". . . some American labor leaders have been influenced by the European idea — clearly borrowed from Marx — that the industrial worker possesses a 'class consciousness' and that he can be induced to vote accordingly. And the only good thing we know about that idea is that it has not worked in America and shows no sign of working. If it ever does, this will be a far different America."

The **Journal** here is mixing up two related but different things — "class consciousness" and "union consciousness." Union consciousness is already here in America and it is working — working all too well for the taste of the capitalists, as reflected among other things in the way the workers vote in accordance with the political advice of their unions. Most American workers have still not reached the level of class consciousness, but when they do, then, we agree with the **Journal**, this certainly will be a far different America.

The tendency of the workers to vote together is already an encouraging thing. When it is joined to an independent class program and given a different political form through an independent labor party, then the reactionary forces now in control of this country will be stopped dead in their tracks and the future of the United States will be placed in the hands of the working people where it belongs.

Campaigning for Socialism

(Continued from page 1)

It was a modest but essential task and within our limited means and resources we succeeded admirably.

Some millions of people heard the SWP candidates over a dozen nation-wide radio and TV hook-ups and many other local broadcasts in the major cities. Letters printed on these pages demonstrated that it was understood as a forceful socialist challenge to capitalist insecurity and war. If a remaining democratic law permitted the SWP to be heard over the airwaves, no similar democratic right applies to the press.

Yet despite the blackout in the daily press of news about radical parties, the SWP candidates succeeded in forcing many local newspapers to carry some news of its campaign. In addition the candidates spoke before thousands of persons at the universities and at forums, symposiums and debates.

The election proved how correct the SWP was in choosing its course against the easier road urged by the advocates of the "lesser evil." We admit they were more successful than we, and their success showed up particularly in the decline of the Progressive Party and the Socialist Party votes. The "lesser evil" theory defeated the radicals but it didn't defeat the Republicans. One more such victory. . . Yet if you look back to only a few months ago, you will recall how "attractive" this "realistic" proposal appeared as against the "doctrinaire" course followed by the SWP. What was really involved was a 20-year-old debate with Stalinists, social democrats, liberals and labor leaders who so firmly believed they had found the easy substitute for independent class politics and a labor party. The debate must resume again in the near future under vastly different conditions. In the light of the record and the results, the SWP program and electoral activities should assume far greater importance.

The election campaign further demonstrated that mincing words and watering down programs is no high road even to temporary success. Its outstanding effect is to demoralize one's own following. This was the case with the Progressive Party, which threw out its 1948 nationalization plank, and refused to go further than the utopian goal of "progressive capitalism" as the way to establish peace in the world. Those who believed in that program went along with the Democratic Party. Those who remained had to swallow their principles in playing a game that fooled noobody and weakened the moral fibre of the forces standing up against the war and the witch hunt. The SWP said before and during the campaign that the big job of 1952 was to speak the truth — but above all to mobilize the vanguard of American working class resistance to Wall Street imperialism. That has proved to be just right.

The outstanding significance of the SWP campaign was its significance as an action. The clear purpose of the witch hunt over these years has been intimidation, to silence the opposition to imperialist war by threat and denunciation. The SWP refused to be silenced or intimidated. In continuing the fight for James Kutcher and against the Michigan Trucks Law and the Illinois Law 1030, it was utilizing the campaign to further the cause of democratic rights. For the SWP, the campaign itself served as a rallying ground for the anti-capitalist opposition which was undoubtedly heartened and inspired by the bold, aggressive fight of the only principled party of American radicalism.

The electoral campaign was one battle in the great struggle of the American workers. That is how we viewed the campaign. We struck a blow for the today and the tomorrow of that struggle.

Subscribe!

Start your subscription now. Clip the coupon and mail it in today. Send $1 50 for six months subscription or $3 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y

Name .....

Street ..... Zone .....

City ..... State .....

☐ Six months ☐ Full year ☐ New ☐ Renewal

ORDER NOW

MARXISM & SCIENCE by Leon Trotsky 20 pages....15c

PERSPECTIVES OF WORLD DEVELOPMENT by Leon Trotsky 35 pages.....20c

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA by Colvin R. De Silva 17 pages.....15c

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a talk on
The Theory of "Co-existence"
Speaker:
James Dall
Fri., Nov. 21, 8:30 P.M.
at 52 Market St.

NEW YORK Friday Night Socialist Forum

Africa in Revolt
Speaker:
George Lavan
Lecturer and Writer
Fri., Nov. 21, 8 P.M.
MILITANT HALL
116 University Place
(near Union Square)

Subscriptions: $3 per year; $1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: $4.50 per year; $2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: $3.50 per year; $1.75 for 6 months. Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries.

THE MILITANT
Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. XVI - No. 46 Monday, November 17, 1952

Eisenhower's Trip to Korea

The *N. Y. Post*, the only big newspaper in New York City that campaigned for Stevenson, suggested Nov. 10 that Gen. Eisenhower "pass up his trip to Korea."

The *Post* editors explain that during the campaign they considered Eisenhower's promise about bringing an end to the war in Korea as "just so much election oratory." They see no reason now why the promise shouldn't be filed in the waste basket as is customary with the campaign promises of the twin parties of Big Business.

This cynical attitude toward the election oratory of the Republicans is perfectly natural, reflecting as it does, the *Post's* attitude toward the election oratory of the Democrats which they helped write.

The *Post* is not interested in exposing this lying promise of Eisenhower's and trying to cash in on the rebound of the voters when they realize they were taken for a ride. They want to let "the man off the hook," as they put it. This magnanimity is not strange.

Like the Republicans, who promised peace in order to win the election, these Democrats understand that capitalism must conquer the world if it is to avoid depression and gain a few more years lease on life. They know that Wall Street views World War III as only a question of time, and they want to do everything possible to prepare for it. The *Post's* generous proposal is therefore an olive branch to the Republicans offering resumption of the bi-partisan foreign policy that led up to Korea and that was maintained up to the time of the election campaign.

But can Eisenhower thus cavalierly flout the sentiments of the millions of people who voted for him because they believed him when he promised to bring an end to the war in Korea? What about the effect of the too-sudden disillusionment?

It seems likely, therefore, that Eisenhower will take a trip to Korea. From there on out, however, his probable course of action is more doubtful.

If he decides to continue the dragged-out stalemate in Korea, he will seek some lying explanation about the "impossibility" of ending the fighting — throwing all the blame, naturally, on the other side although only one issue, the question of prisoner exchange, blocks a truce.

Eisenhower will not bring peace to Korea. He will not withdraw the troops. But he may arrange a truce. Eisenhower's declaration during the campaign about letting "Asians fight Asians" might well mean that he has in mind the speedy rearmament of Japan and the assignment to Japanese imperialism of a fighting role in Korea in addition to its current supporting action as a base of operations. A truce would supply time for the conversion of Japan into a new nest of rampant militarism for action in Korea, China and especially Siberia.

Whatever action Eisenhower takes,, however, will be calculated in the light of Wall Street's over-all plans for war on the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, the colonial areas and China. And in the final analysis what he does about Korea will aim at better — and, yes, speedier — preparation for the war the Truman administration has been preparing since 1945 when Gen. Marshall shortly after V-J Day announced that another conflict was inevitable.

Brass Hat in the White House

The newspapers have been hailing the Republican victory as a "great personal triumph" for Eisenhower. That's their explanation for the fact that the General in most places outdistanced the other Republican candidates. Senator Taft questions this interpretation. If it was a personal triumph for Eisenhower to get 55.4 percent of the popular vote, Taft observes sourly, then how do you assess the Republican victory in 1928 when Herbert Hoover got 69 percent of the vote? Taft may have scored a point there, although he should have continued and let us know if we can expect the General's popularity to prove as enduring as Hoover's.

Many people, it appears, split their ticket, voting for Eisenhower to register a protest against the war in Korea, against high prices, against high taxes and the whole "mess" associated with Truman. These voters may have felt considerable qualms about voting for a professional military man for President. Generals are deservedly suspect, especially when they begin to throw their weight around in politics. But the two-party system is designed to detour such progressive sentiments. In the 1952 election we see the startling paradox of a good deal of anti-war sentiment serving to put a professional militarist in the White House.

The enormously swollen military caste is part of the Roosevelt heritage — one of the products of his taking America into World War II. By the end of that conflict it was already a powerful political force, its representatives honey-combing the government bureaucracy.

Truman did nothing to stem this sinister development. In fact he did everything to nurture it, making Gen. Marshall, for instance, one of his chief advisors. Truman's appointment of Gen. Marshall as Secretary of State was a logical extension of this drift. Now the Big Brass has taken over the White House.

This is a manifestation of the trend long apparent in Washington — the decreasing weight of Congress, the increasing concentration of power in the White House, the shift to decree rule, the tendency of Congress to act as a rubber stamp especially in regard to Pentagon demands.

For years *The Militant* has warned about the rise of a caste that looks at America's acute social and political problem through the eyes of reactionary militarism. This is one of the ominous developments that cries out for rectification by organization of a labor party. The seating of a general in the White House is another milestone on the road to the military-police state. Labor had better wake up!

Labor Needs a Fighting Stance

The past relation of labor as an active supporter of the administration party has been shattered by the election results. The relation of labor to the new regime is still to be formed.

This problem of the labor movement is really two problems. The rank and file of the union movement, together with many conscientious and sincere local leaders, want to participate in politics in such a way as to conserve union gains, increase labor's political power, advance the cause and condition of the working man and his family. Thus most workers have supported the Democrats in the belief — a mistaken belief in our opinion — that this was the best available way to keep gains and make new ones.

The problem presents itself somewhat differently so far as the top officialdom of the trade-union movement is concerned. Of course, these top officials cannot be entirely contemptuous of the desires of the ranks, since their position in the unions is at least partly dependent upon their achievement record. But for them the political problem shapes up in another way. They like nothing better than to slide into an easy groove politically, and try to make some sort of frictionless relation to the capitalist government. This inclination on their part is heightened by the fact that their whole outlook is similar to that of the most reactionary capitalists so far as the chief political problems (Korea, the impending war with the Soviet and colonial world, the defense of capitalism, etc.) are concerned.

This subservient attitude towards capitalist government found its rut for 20 years in Democratic Party rule, but with the Republicans in power, the situation is somewhat different. Both the workers and the corporation owners will be more inclined to assume a fighting stance towards each other, and the labor bureaucrats are caught in the middle.

It is not likely, however, that big changes in the government-labor relation will come at once. The top labor officials have already made remarks indicating a desire to continue in the old way, as kowtowers to Washington. The Republican administration, far its part, will face precisely the same problem as did the Democrats in the past. They will not find it possible to smash the labor movement before the war; as a matter of fact, such an attempt might very well cripple the capitalist war drive in the sole remaining solid bastion of world capitalism. So the Republicans will be forced to go slow on this front like the Democrats.

Nevertheless, labor has always found it best to prepare for the worst. Many individual corporations will try to toughen their policy towards the unions in the immediate period ahead. The fighting attitude which the workers will instinctively assume as the Republicans come to power is a far healthier attitude than the continued subservience that the top union leaders will (also instinctively) try to foist on the labor movement.

Is There an Opposition to Stalin in USSR?

By John G. Wright

One of the main preoccupations of the Kremlin rulers is, as it always has been, to keep on "consolidating" and "strengthening" their state machinery. Stalin slurred over this aspect of Soviet reality in his 25,000 word document, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR." But Malenkov, the main reporter at the 19th conference of the Russian Stalinist party, dwelt at length and quite emphatically on the need to "preserve" the state and strengthen it "to the utmost" — even "under Communism"!

With the enormous successes recorded by Soviet industry, with the relations between the city and country presumably healthier than even before, the Stalin regime ought, it seems, to feel stable and confident enough, if not to relax its repressions, then at least not to require an immediate intensification. But just the contrary is true.

At the 19th conference the cult of the state was elevated to new heights and new stress was placed on "reenforcing" the already unheard-of machine of coercion. Malenkov reserved some of his bitterest attacks for the advocates of "the theory most harmful to our cause, of the weakening and withering away of the Soviet state in conditions of capitalist encirclement."

"ROTTEN THEORY"

Proponents of this Marxist idea were denounced by Malenkov as "the enemies and vulgarizers of Marxism," and he announced that they had been "smashed" and that "this rotten theory" had been rejected by the party. Instead, he added, the party "advanced and substantiated the thesis that . . . the country where the revolution has triumphed must not weaken, but strengthen its state to the utmost, that the state is preserved even under Communism should the capitalist encirclement remain." This declaration was greeted with "tumultuous applause."

The new official doctrine, as enunciated by Stalin, declares that the Soviet Union is no longer either isolated or encircled by capitalism. On the contrary, the USSR now heads an independent "socialist camp" and a "world market" stronger than the co-existing, "parallel" capitalist camp and market. Malenkov repeated all this and even noted as a "historic fact" that the "Soviet Union has emerged once and for all from the position of international isolation."

STALIN

How does Malenkov's explanation of the need to "strengthen" the state square with Stalin's latest "analysis" of world relations? It doesn't. It is in flagrant contradiction with it. Malenkov declares capitalist encirclement to be ended "once and for all" only to drag it in by the hair when it comes to the question of the Soviet state.

But that isn't all. Malenkov did not even go on to claim that the main task of the Soviet state is to guard against the threat of external attack. He asserted instead that "In the postwar period the basic function of our state (is) the function of economic-organizational and cultural-educational work. . . ." **This should require, if anything, a relaxation of repressions.**

Compulsion is the worst of stimulants for "economic-organizational" activity, not to mention "cultural-educational work." In these fields, the role of compulsion, that is the role of the state itself, ought not to increase but to fall away, especially in the alleged period of transition "from socialism to communism."

FEAR OPPOSITION

The Kremlin rulers are entangling themselves in absurd self-contradictions. These absurdities are not just a product of bureaucratic ignorance, arrogance and impunity. They are at the same time self-protective reactions by the ruling bureaucrats, attempts to allay growing mass discontent and opposition to their regime. In addition to naked force, the Kremlin feels itself more and more in need of "ideological weapons" to guard and justify its rule.

And among the most ticklish of problems is to invent some sort of plausible argument for not relaxing its stranglehold on every field of Soviet social activity, for perpetuating its arbitrariness and mounting privileges.

In the prewar days, Stalin was not too much concerned with this. The first piece of sophistry that came to hand was deemed sufficient. Thus at the 17th party congress in 1934 Stalin declared that his brutal regime was indispensable for waging a struggle against the "remnants" of the old ruling classes, and in particular against the "remnants" of Trotskyism. This miserable explanation left unexplained why "remnants" should require greater repressions than sufficed to destroy the entire Czarist regime when, under Lenin, party and Soviet democracy flourished. It was nevertheless hailed at the time as Stalin's "world-historic" contribution to the theory of the Soviet state.

NEW THEORY

Five years later, this "theory" had to be discarded. At the 18th party congress in 1939 Stalin advanced instead a new theory to the effect that "the necessity of the state is demanded by capitalist encirclement and the dangers flowing therefrom to the land of socialism." If this had any meaning, it simply meant that the coercive powers of the state had to be turned outwards, against the external danger. But against what internal danger were the greater repressions still needed?

Not even "remnants" of the old classes were officially acknowledged any longer to exist. It was also proclaimed that every vestige of political opposition inside the Soviet Union had been obliterated — by the infamous Moscow Trials and the accompanying monstrous blood purges.

SAME PROBLEM

Thirteen years later we find the bureaucracy confronted with the same problem, with the identical need to strengthen its rule "to the utmost." And it is obviously at a loss for some "new," superficially plausible answer. Stalin remained silent. Malenkov was unable to serve up anything more than a rehash of Stalin's 1939 "theory" which flies in the face of Stalin's 1952 "world-historic" doctrine.

The very successes of which Stalin's regime boasts create for it the sharpest of difficulties. The stepped-up dynamic of Soviet productive forces, the unquestionable economic successes and the corresponding numerical, technical and cultural growth of the Soviet working class, the higher demands of an industrialized country as against the predominantly agricultural Soviet economy in prewar days — all these feed the mass opposition to the bureaucratic regime, reinforce the tendencies to rid the economy and the people of this parasitic incubus.

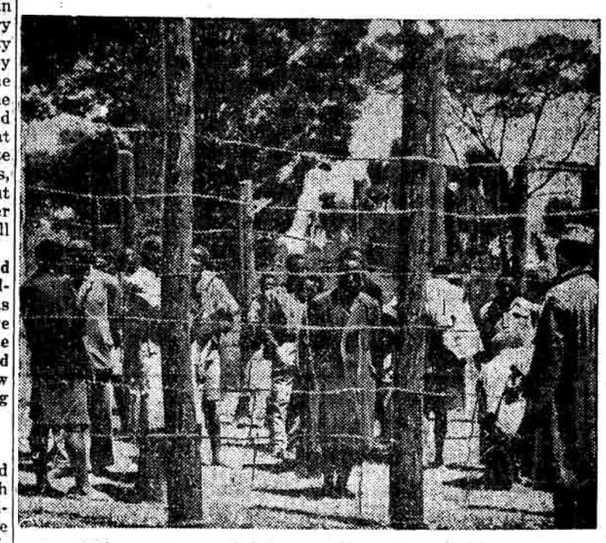
Under the new Soviet conditions, the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin continue to circulate in millions of copies. In them every thinking Soviet worker and student can discover for himself exactly what kind of state it is that the victorious working class really needs.

LENIN'S VIEWS

One need only turn to Lenin's **State and Revolution** to read there that "the proletariat needs only a dying state — that is, a state constructed in such a way that it immediately begins to wither away and cannot help withering away." Daily experience teaches the Soviet people how onerous and intolerable is the uncontrolled bureaucratic rule, least willing to begin dying away.

As Malenkov himself announced, this "withering away" theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin had its advocates, apparently even in the ranks of the bureaucracy. They were, he says, crushed, and there is no reason to doubt Malenkov on this score. But the idea itself it is impossible to crush. The bureaucracy obviously fears this "rotten theory" greatly. For the very conditions of Soviet life are now breeding more and more advocates of the "withering away of the state." The anti-Stalinist opposition inside the Soviet Union keeps reappearing despite all the "utmost" repressions.

British Rule in Africa



Africans are corralled in one of many barbed-wire cages set up by British authorities throughout the Kikuyu reserve in Kenya after mass arrests in imperialist attempt to break colonial independence movement. Latest reports show movement still growing.

Revolutionary Speeches At Peking Conference

The key-note speech made by Edmund Samarakkody in the Commission on National Independence at the Peking Peace Conference "created a sensation and drew the enthusiastic support of the delegates from Latin America, the Middle East and the Pacific Region countries," reports the Nov. 6 Samasamajist, weekly English publication of the Ceylonese Lanka Samasamaja Party.

Samarakkody, who served with Hector Fernando as a Lanka Samasamaja delegate to the Peace Conference, presented the Trotskyist position of the Fourth International that "the struggle for peace in these countries" is part and parcel of the struggle against imperialism. His speech "cut across the Stalinist Five Power Pact line which subordinates the struggle for national liberation to the struggle for peace," says the Samasamajist.

AGAINST STALINIST LINE

In the Five Power Peace Commission of the Peking Peace Conference, Hector Fernando moved for the deletion of a paragraph in the resolution that read: "Such a pact could put an end to the wars now raging, and lift from mankind the terrible shadow of a third word war. . . . It could lift the burden of armaments from the backs of the peoples, and end trade barriers so that they may freely exchange the fruits of their labor. It could end the encroachments on their lands and liberties by others, opening the way to independent nationhood for all, and enabling each people to live its own chosen life."

Asking that this be deleted, Fernando said: "So long as imperialism and capitalism remain in the world, we cannot achieve lasting peace. Hence, to state that a Five Power Pact will bring peace to the world is to create an illusion." Fernando's motion was defeated by the Stalinist majority.

STALINIST ATTEMPT TO ANSWER SAMARAKKODY

Samarakkody's speech against imperialism compelled the Stalinists and their allies in the Ceylon delegation to issue a counter-statement which ran as follows: "We are opposed to equating the national liberation movement to the peace movement. We must realize that the peace movement is a broader movement and that the realization of peace will ensure the conditions for the realization of real independence. We must realize that this is a Peace Conference and that we must not reduce it to an Anti-Imperialist Conference."

The text of Edmund Samarakkody's speech, as reported by the Samasamajist is as follows:

* * *

In the words of Mr. Kuo Mo Jo "the movement for the defense of peace is inseparable from the struggle for national independence and freedom." The struggle for national sovereignty assumes different forms in different countries of South-East Asia and the Pacific. The partisans of peace in countries like Malaya and Vietnam are carrying on an armed struggle for peace against imperialist aggressors. This armed struggle of these partisans of peace is the struggle against imperialism and is our struggle, and we support them when we say that this Conference supports their struggle for national independence.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST FIGHT IS FIGHT FOR PEACE

The partisans of peace in countries like Burma, Thailand and Laos are also carrying on an armed struggle for peace against their own puppet governments which are supported and directed by British and American imperialisms. This is a struggle against imperialism. In these countries the political struggle is not in the hands of imperialist aggressors. There is formal political independence.

Although there is no armed struggle in the countries of Latin America, the position in these countries is somewhat similar. The puppet governments of the republics of Latin America are carrying out the directions and assisting the war plans of American imperialism.

The struggle of the partisans of peace in these countries is the struggle against imperialism. In the course of the struggle, the partisans of peace in these countries are persecuted and imprisoned. We need all these partisans of peace.

In the Middle East the partisans of peace have to fight against imperialist military occupation. These partisans of peace belong to our movement.

In all these countries it will be seen that in whatever form it may express itself the struggle for peace is a struggle against imperialism.

This Conference has openly condemned imperialist aggression. Delegates from various countries have condemned imperialism. In order to draw in the partisans of peace in all the countries of Asia and the Pacific regions and the Middle East it is necessary to unequivocally state that the struggle for peace is the struggle against imperialism.

UMW Medical Care Rehabilitates Miner

The work of the United Mine Worker's Welfare and Retirement Fund was dramatically illustrated at the union's 41st convention in Cincinnati.

Back in 1940 Benny Phillips, a 26-year old Colorado miner, was hit by runaway coal cars. He lost an arm and was paralyzed. A paraplegic, he lay helpless on his stomach for eight years. Then through strike action the UMW won its Welfare Fund and the best medical care was provided for Phillips and other injured miners. After four years of treatment, Phillips, on special crutches, walked unassisted down the aisle of the convention hall.

Phillips is a third generation coal miner. His brother and stepfather still work in the mines. His father was killed by the Rockefeller interests in the 1914 Ludlow massacre.

World Events

By Charles Hanley

FIRST RETURNS from abroad indicate a mixed reaction to Eisenhower's victory. In general, the most reactionary forces hailed it, others deplored it and were fearful of the consequences. Interest in the election was great in other countries because of the tremendous impact of Washington's foreign policy and its decisive weight in determining the answer to the great question of war or peace in the coming period. "Europe tightens belt for tougher U.S. policy," was the comment of Scripps-Howard staff writer R. H. Shackford from London. "The general reaction could be described as little-concealed apprehension."

* * *

BRITONS generally were in no mood to celebrate, according to **N. Y. Times** correspondent Raymond Daniel. Gen. Eisenhower's victory left them, as it did many Europeans, with a "feeling of nervousness, anxiety and puzzlement." The **Manchester Guardian** attributes the Republican landslide to the hope for peace in Korea due to Eisenhower's promises and the feeling that a change in government was needed.

* * *

ANEURAN BEVAN, leader of the British Labor Party left wing, voiced widespread sentiment when he warned that Gen. Eisenhower would not have the support of the British people if he tried to end the war in Korea by extending it to other areas, especially the mainland of China. The Bevanist weekly **Tribune** carried the banner headline: "U.S. Election Brings Peril of a Slump."

* * *

IN CANADA business circles expressed concern over a possible return of high-tariff policies under a Republican administration. Canadians fear that the U.S. may try to shut out Canadian farm products as did previous Republican majorities in Congress.

* * *

AUSTRALIAN LABOR opposition leader Dr. Herbert V. Evatt described Gen. Eisenhower's victory as "due to his promise to try and achieve peace in Korea."

* * *

SOME INDIAN government officials said that although they had favored the election of Gov. Stevenson, they would maintain a "wait-and-see" attitude toward the new administration in Washington. Prime Minister Nehru declined comment.

* * *

ALL MUNITIONS, steel, heavy industrials and shipping stocks and bonds bounced up 10 to 15 points on the Tokyo stock market at the prospect of an increasing arms program. This was expected no matter who won, but the election returns in the U.S. gave the signal for the stock market celebration.

* * *

YEARNINGS of Japanese business interests for trade with New China and the Soviet Union got a setback, according to Scripps-Howard Foreign Editor Ludwell Denny. Such "flirtation" he said would constitute "the worst calamity that could befall us in the Far East."

* * *

SPANISH FASCISTS welcomed the Eisenhower victory, interpreting it as the opening of a new era of closer relations between the U.S. and Franco's regime. This is somewhat strange in view of the close relations already established by the Truman regime. The Spanish radio warmly praised Eisenhower's character and personality.

THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO EQUALITY
By John Saunders and Albert Parker
10 cents

THE COMING AMERICAN REVOLUTION
By James P. Cannon
10 cents

AMERICAN WORKERS NEED A LABOR PARTY
By Joseph Hansen
15 cents

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL
Official Court Record of James P. Cannon's testimony in the first trial under the Smith Act, in Minneapolis, '41
35 cents

THE ROAD TO PEACE
According to Lenin and According to Stalin
By James P. Cannon
25 cents

STALINISM AND BOLSHEVISM
By Leon Trotsky
15 cents

Order from
Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.
Catalog on Request

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVI — MONDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1952 — NUMBER 46

"Limelight"

By Charles Hanley

When Charles Chaplin produced "Monsieur Verdoux" after World War II, the picture was violently attacked by the capitalist press, the Catholic hierarchy and various other reactionary groups because of its social ideas. A big hit in Europe, pressure forced American theaters to withdraw "Monsieur Verdoux" after a short run. The self-appointed guardians of "moral values" did not permit the American public to see a film directed against war and capitalist hypocrisy.

"Limelight" is the first Chaplin movie in many years that lacks explicit political or social satire. Critics in the capitalist press have praised it for this. Nonetheless the Amerian Legion is pressing for its withdrawal because Chaplin's right to return to the United States where he has lived for 40 years has been challenged by witch-hunter Attorney General McGranery.

In New York this will not be easy. In smaller cities, however, the Legion may succeed in preventing the public from seeing Chaplin's new master work. That's democracy for you.

"Limelight" has none of the social bite of "Monsieur Verdoux" but that is not to deny its beauty and artistic value. Why should an artist who has achieved great social satire not try his hand at something else too?

Of course, we socialists are gratified when a great artist focuses his attention on a big problem of our time. But we do not believe an artist is rigidly bound to adhere to such themes.

We do not tell artists what they must write or compose, as the Stalinists do. We think that the artist who follows a party order instead of his own inspiration cannot create anything worthwhile. And we know perfectly well that there exist innumerable human master works without any special social significance; and on the other hand many books, poems, etc., which are supposed to have social significance or "socialist realism" (as the Kremlin bureaucrats call it) that are nothing but trite fakery without realism or artistic value whatsoever. "Limelight" needs no excuse. Chaplin needs no excuse.

"Limelight" has, in fact, tremendous human signficance. This is not merely a story about people in the show business, as some of the critics wish to make us believe. It is a story about things that matter, about life itself — a serious film, serious like Shakespeare's tragedies with their comic interludes.

The elderly clown Calvero saves the life of Thereza, a lonely young ballet dancer who wanted to commit suicide. He rekindles her energy, her courage. This act of human solidarity not only affects Thereza but Calvero himself. With the strength she regains through his kindliness and wisdom, she helps him surmount demoralization and defeat.

Despite disappointment and failure, Calvero never quite gives up in his pathetic struggle for human dignity and finally makes a triumphant come-back.

The lonely and the outcast helping each other, struggling for human dignity — this is an important theme which goes through many Chaplin creations. "Limelight" is in this fine tradition.

Radicals, liberals and friends of better movies in general should reply to the "Hate Chaplin" campaign by seeing this marvelous picture as soon as possible. They will not be disappointed.

Why They Riot

By Harry Ring

"They did it better (in New Jersey) with tear gas grenades. We used to use ammonia guns. Get a shot of that and you surrender. That's the way to treat them!" In this terse fashion, John Sheehy, ex-keeper at Sing Sing, summed up his criticism of the negotiated settlement of the prison riot at Jackson, Mich., last May. His approach sheds some light on the cause of the prison outbreaks which have been hitting the front pages of the national press with increasing frequency.

"I saw a prisoner in a western state after he got a going over from a guard. He had been forced to stand while the officer, taking his time, swung on him unmercifully with a club for ten minutes. The man's head was open. His face was a pudding of blood. His lip was cut. One eye was closed. His nose was broken. Three teeth were knocked out. His cheek bore a deep gash. Two ribs were cracked. His knee cap was crushed. . . . His offense was speaking while in line." These are the words of David Dressler, former Director of the New York State Division of Parole. They throw a bit more light on the cause of prison riots.

A minimum of five states still have legal provisions for corporal punishment in their prisons, according to the **N.Y. Post**, which recently put the spotlight on prison conditions in America. Penal authorities agree that corporal punishment is practiced in a majority of prisons, even though the legal provisos may be lacking. The flogging of women prisoners at Wetumpka State Prison, Alabama, recently led to the warden's resignation. Last spring, Warden Roy Best of Colorado State Penitentiary, and eight of his guards were indicted and charged with flogging, choking and burning five prisoners with lit cigarettes.

The outbreaks at Jackson Prison come the closest to revealing the full story. Jackson is the biggest prison in the world. With a capacity of 6,000 inmates, it often houses up to 7,000. Many of the prisoners are forced to sleep in the cell block corridors. More than 1,400 of them are totally idle. Officials boast of the social service workers and psychologists attached to the staff. Their case loads run from 500 to 750. The results are virtually non-existent. The declared policy of Warden Frisbie is to run the prison "tough."

The demands drawn up by the Jackson prisoners during the May revolt are required reading for any one seriously interested in prison reform. They demanded a cleanup of The Hole (the tier of solitary confinement cells). Impartial obsevers agree that The Hole is a page out of Charles Dickens. They demanded that adequate counseling and psychiatric service be provided and that homosexuals and mental cases be better segregated. About 125 psychotics a year are sent to Jackson for lack of room at the mental hospitals.

Charging that they were beaten with blackjacks and chains, they insisted that "inhuman" restraints and dangerous hand weapons be discarded. Said Deputy Warden Fox, "I know of no such incident from personal observation." The prisoners showed newsmen chains and blackjacks taken from the guards.

Finally, the prisoners called for revision of the 'slow,' 'tough' parole procedure. Their key proposition was for the election of a permanent council by the inmates to confer regularly with prison officials on their grievances.

(Next week: Who's the thief? The scope of official rackets.)

Notes from the News

JOSEPHINE BAKER, American-born Negro singer now in Argentina, may be barred from the U.S. if she ever tries to re-enter, Justice Department spokesmen declared. Officials are angry at Miss Baker because she has made bitter attacks on the Jim Crow system and the "hypocrisy" of U.S. democracy.

* * *

HOW TO PROFIT FROM WITCH HUNT was demonstrated by Robert Clifford of Sidney, Australia. He obtained four jobs in a row. Each day after getting a job he would make an anonymous phone call to the employer and tip him off that the new worker he had hired was a Communist. In each case Clifford was fired and given a week's pay in lieu of notice. Police don't know exactly what crime to charge Clifford with.

* * *

INTERFERENCE WITH THE MAIL was the charge brought against the U.S. Post Office Department by the American Civil Liberties Union. The Post Office has been destroying books, magazines, pamphlets and mimeographed matter mailed to subscribers in this country from Soviet-bloc countries. The Post Office does this without notifying the people to whom the printed matter was addressed on the grounds that such material is "propaganda." First inkling of this arbitrary censorship by the Post Office was revealed when David J. Dallin, bitter opponent of the Soviet government and an editor of the **New Leader**, revealed that publications to which he subscribed had stopped coming. He later learned that many university professors who followed the East European press for their studies also were being deprived of books and magazines which they had ordered.

* * *

PAUL ROBESON is scheduled to sing at a Progressive Party rally in a high school auditorium in Hartford, Conn. The Board of Education which voted six-to-three to let the PP rent the auditorium as other political organizations do, is under attack by the yellow press, the Hartford City Council and such unsavory public figures as Walter Winchell. Among those defending the Board of Education's action on grounds of preserving free speech is the Hartford chapter of the Disabled American Veterans, the Hartford women's division of the American Jewish Congress, and the conservative **Hartford Courant**.

* * *

POLL ON KOREAN WAR was taken by the **Wisconsin Agriculturist and Farmer.** 38% were for getting "completely out of Korea," 32% wanted to "keep trying for a truce," only 16% were for all-out war against China, and 16% were recorded as undecided.

* * *

THE U.S. NAVY is as big as all the other navies in the world put together. It is the largest peacetime navy ever maintained by any country in the history of the world.

* * *

ABRAM FLAXER, president of the United Public Workers, succeeded in having a federal judge dismiss one of the contempt-of-Congress charges brought against him. He had refused to turn over his union's records and books to the Senate Internal Security subcommittee.

Harvester Strike Still Solid Despite Renewed Attacks

By Frank Roberts

CHICAGO, Nov. 10 — "Operation Scab," International Harvester's big push to smash the strike of farm equipment workers, has been stopped short by the spirited picketing and organized action of the strikers.

The company offensive shifted from the McCormick works over to the Tractor plant after failing to dent the strike in the former plant. The Tractor plant strike-busting moves began with the usual mounting company claims of "workers returning to work," and this was followed by a barrage of letters to strikers in which an attempt was made to sugar-coat the yellow-dog agreement the company wants to force on the union.

As this offensive mounted, two scab-herding foremen's front porches were bombed, and although no one was hurt in either case the newspapers built up the biggest scare they could. A union statement condemned the bombing and pointed out that only the company could gain by such terrorism, but the press buried this, although they found room for a steady stream of anti-strike editorials.

COMPANY PRESSURE

Behind this propaganda smokescreen, the Harvester Corp. moved its ground troops into action. An army of scab-herding foremen began personal calls at the homes of strikers, where they coaxed, pleaded and finally threatened the workers in an effort to start a back-to-work move. Proposals were adorned with offers of free chauffeur service to and from work, with cigars and whiskey thrown in. The company has also sought to get landlords to evict strikers from their homes.

In spite of all this the Tractor workers have held solidly. Their wives have told foremen off and shown them the door. Despite 13 weeks on the picket line, determination is strong. As one worker put it, "It's bad enough working at Harvester with a contract to think of going back without one."

The AFL federal local in Milwaukee recently sent a substantial donation to the strikers, and a car-load of workers to help enforce the picket line.

William Scott Steward, Chicago criminal lawyer with a top-flight reputation in his field, has undertaken the defense of Harold Ward, victimized secretary of Local 108 of the Farm Equipment division of United Electrical Workers union, charged with killing a scab. The union has initiated a national defense movement for Ward, which is out to enlist support from the entire labor movement.

Michigan Vote Results Underscore Need for Independent Labor Party

DETROIT, Nov. 10 — The Republican victories in industrial Michigan prove again that the political alliance of the Reuther-CIO leadership with the Democratic Party works to the advantage of the auto corporations. For them it is a heads-we-win-tails-you-lose proposition. This was the pay-off for supporting the discredited Democratic agents of big business. In spite of the fact that the unions engaged in record activities, publicity and finances their voting appeal declined.

Only in Wayne County, the heavily concentrated auto area where the weight of the union officialdom and of the union is greatest, was the Democratic-labor coalition successful in holding five federal Congressmen and all the county officials up for election. Here the bloc won a clear majority, but the size of the majority did not come up to union expectations.

In Wayne County the Democrats made larger increases than the Republicans as compared to 1948 but throughout the state the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket made greater increases among the 700,000 new voters in Michigan.

Wayne, for instance, gave Stevenson 515,652 votes, compared with 489,654 for Truman. Eisenhower got only 130,000 more Wayne votes than Dewey got four years earlier.

However, in such places as Oakland County, which borders Wayne, Stevenson's vote jumped 22,000 over Truman's, while Eisenhower ran Dewey's 62,000 up to 114,503.

Genesee County, which includes Flint, dug up another 22,000 for Eisenhower while Stevenson was improving on the Truman score by only 4,000. Stevenson trailed the state Democratic ticket, while Eisenhower outran the Republicans.

Walter Reuther campaigned on the false basis that the Democrats were responsible for the social gains since 1929 and that Truman's party had a recipe for avoiding depression. He completely ignored the struggles of the unions and minority organizations as the force that won the social gains. Reuther fully endorsed the war and tax program of the administration, and presented the Republicans as alone responsible for the depression, saying nothing about the inevitability of war or depression under capitalism.

With this line Reuther was able to sell the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket to a majority of the industrial workers. However, he could not sell it to the poor farmers, lower middle class and small home owners. It is these elements that are strategically placed in the gerrymandered voting districts to offset labor-supported majorities.

In addition, the masses of the new voters were more concerned about the Democratic record in Korea and the increasing burden of taxes under the Democrats than they were with pre-war depression problems.

Labor offered the lower middle classes and the new voters no rallying point of struggle against the war program. Therefore, they became victims of the fake and hypocritical Republican propaganda.

WHAT WAS NEEDED

A class struggle program of independent political action by labor could have swept the state. A campaign in behalf of a cut in the taxes of small property owners coupled with a stiff corporation and war profits tax, a series of bold actions defending poor farmers; and a demand for the withdrawal of troops from Korea would have won tens of thousands of votes from the Republican camp. Such a program could have overcome the red-baiting smokescreen which Big Business threw up as a cover for the cynical gang of witch hunters, millionaires and labor haters seeking office.

Big Business also defeated the union-supported reapportionment proposal No. 2 by a three-to-two margin and carried its own proposal No. 3 by a five-to-four margin.

The **Detroit Free Press** openly hailed the further stifling of democracy in Michigan on the day following the election. "Rural control of Senate cemented!" it said. "Seven counties in South Eastern Michigan including Wayne, which has more than half the state's population, will elect 12 senators. A minority in the 76 other counties will elect 22 senators." **In spite of this costly setback, Reuther has the gall to defend his PAC policy as "practical" and "successful"!**

The Republican victory will raise stronger doubts in the minds of the workers about support of the Democratic Party. Many people report a greater interest in discussing the Korean war and the labor party since the election.

Wounded in Korea

Marines give water to American youth wounded when first marine division won back control of the Hook, ridge on western Korean front. Defense Department reported that U.S. casualties were up to 1,318 in a week, highest in a year.

ROSENBERG DEATH SENTENCE HELD "WITHOUT PRECEDENT"

An important expression of opinion on the Rosenberg case appeared in the Nov. 8 **Nation**, written by Arthur Garfield Hays, general counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Rosenbergs have been convicted of passing information about the atom bomb to the Soviet Union, their conviction has been upheld by an Appellate court, and review was denied by the Supreme Court, which is now being appealed to for a re-hearing. They are in Sing Sing death house, awaiting execution.

Hays writes: "Russia was our ally in 1944, but under the statute a crime exists if secret information is turned over to a foreign government with reason to believe that the information may be of advantage to the recipient. The charge was not treason. The defendants were not indicted or tried for giving aid to an enemy. In a treason trial there would have been certain constitutional safeguards. Thus, the defendants argue that the crime of which they were accused was of the same kind as treason but of a lesser degree, and that they were at least entitled to the constitutional protections which would have been required in a treason trial."

Hays points out: "So far as I know, there is no precedent for a death penalty in a case like this." And he concludes: "It is the damnable death penalty that causes the uneasiness. . . If this judgment is carried through, we shall make martyrs of the Rosenbergs, perhaps not to many people in the United States, but to millions in other parts of the world. You can imagine what would be our own emotional response if two Russians were sentenced to death for supplying information to us while we were allied with Russia. Somehow I cannot help feeling that the British treatment of Fuchs shows a higher degree of civilization than the sentence in this case."

Judge Frank of the Circuit Court was apparently influenced by the reasons given for commuting the death sentence, and set them forth in his opinion, but claimed that this move would exceed his powers.

Negro Convicted Of 'Leer Assault'

An all-white jury of farmers at Yanceyville, N.C., on Nov. 12 convicted Mack Ingram, 45-year-old Negro sharecropper, of "assault" on a white girl who claimed that the defendant had merely "leered" at her from a distance of more than 60 feet. Ingram said he had mistaken her for a boy.

Ingram was given a six-month suspended sentence and put on probation for five years on complaint of Mrs. Edward Webster, 19, who admitted that he had not come within 60 feet of her at any time. She was frightened she said when he looked "cariously" at her crossing a field. She was dressed in dungarees. She also admitted she had to look up the word "leer" in the dictionary after her lawyer had put it in her mouth.

The Progressive Party Vote: Why it Declined

By Albert Parker

Total election results of the minor parties still have not been compiled, but the local figures already available show that the Progressive Party's vote this year suffered a drastic decline as compared with 1948.

Four years ago the party's presidential candidate, Henry Wallace, got 1,150,000 votes. This year's candidate, Vincent Hallinan, predicted that his vote would be higher. But it is certain that his vote will not come anywhere near the million mark.

More than 500,000 votes for Wallace (about half his national total) were polled on the ticket of the American Labor Party, the Progressives' New York affiliate and main stronghold. Hallinan's vote in New York State was only 63,000 — about one-eighth of Wallace's.

CAUSES OF DECLINE

In part, the drop in the Progressive Party vote must be attributed to the general political atmosphere prevailing this year, which was unfavorable to all parties considered radical and undoubtedly produced a smaller combined vote for all the minor parties than in any election since the 1920's.

The feeling that the major-party contest would be close (in contrast to 1948, when most people figured Dewey was a sure thing) kept many thousands of protest votes from being given to any minor party.

The witch hunt, which has spread much farther and deeper in the last four years, and which affected even the Democrats adversely, also weakened the Progressive campaign.

In addition, the capitalist press imposed a virtual blackout on the Progressives this year, treating them practically the same way they treat other minor parties. In 1948 it was still possible for readers of the daily press to get fairly full news coverage of the Wallace campaign. It was altogether different with Hallinan. Wallace was well known and had a certain amount of prestige, even though it declined as his campaign proceeded, while Hallinan was virtually unknown outside of a narrow circle.

CRISIS OF COLD FEET

These were difficulties over which the Progressive leaders had little control. But there were others, flowing directly out of the nature and structure of the party itself. The most spectacular was the crisis of cold feet that broke out during the last weeks of the campaign.

I. F. Stone and T. O. Thackrey of the **Daily Compass** and Paul Sweezy of the **Monthly Review** evidently expressed the sentiments of many people in and around the Progressive Party when they urged Progressives to vote for Stevenson as a "lesser evil" and to express their protest against the major parties' policies by voting for such candidates as Corliss Lamont, ALP candidate for U.S. Senator in New York.

There is no way of accurately estimating how many votes this split cost Hallinan, although it surely had something to do with the fact that Lamont polled over 50% more votes than Hallinan in New York State.

Even more important than its effect on the Progressive vote was the effect it had on the morale of the party. For Stone and Sweezy exercise considerable influence in the party as representatives of the non-Stalinist elements who refused to walk out of the party over the Korean war, as Henry Wallace and many of his followers did.

Of course the Progressive leaders hotly opposed the Stone-Sweezy proposal. But they did not succeed in preventing fairly widespread defections because they share the Stone-Sweezy conception of the Progressive Party.

Stone proceeds from the premise that it is not the function of the Progressive Party to try to organize the American people for a struggle to win political power away from the capitalist class. So do the Progressive leaders.

Stone considers the chief function of the Progressive Party to be the exerting of pressure on the capitalist parties to accept an agreement with the Soviet Union. So do the Progressive leaders.

Thus the dispute between them was not conducted on the basis of a difference over principle, but purely over tactics. On this level, Stone seemed to many Progressives to have the better of the argument when he contended that their party would be better able to promote its main objective under a Stevenson administration than under an Eisenhower.

Moreover, the Progressive leadership as a whole strengthened the tendency inside the party to capitulate to "lesser evilism" by withdrawing or refusing to run their own candidates against most Fair Deal candidates for Congress. If it's all right to support Democrats for Congress, then what principle stands in the way of supporting them for President?

PROBLEM OF MORALE

The fall in their vote will further demoralize many members of the party, especially those who had illusions that there is some easy "get-rich-quick" method of building a mass third party capable of playing a decisive role in American political life.

To be sure, the Progressive vote probably would have declined this year even if the party had a different perspective and a better program. But with a different outlook, the party would not have the acute problem of morale that it now faces.

A decrease in votes may disappoint a minor party but need not prove demoralizing so long as its members feel they have taken full advantage of a campaign in order to educate as many people as they could reach. But the Progressive Party, precisely because it does not inspire its membership with a program and perspective that can sustain them in a period of reaction, will not easily overcome the effects of a low vote.

A VITAL LACK

The experience of the last four years has confirmed our warning that it is impossible to build a mass progressive political movement in this country unless it is based on the organized labor movement. The Progressives thought they could take a short cut. What little labor support they had at the start has disappeared; even the unions expelled from the CIO as Stalinist-led, which endorsed Wallace in 1948, hedged on Hallinan this year.

Thus the Progressive Party is not the mass party it hoped to become, but primarily a propaganda group — somewhat larger than other minor parties, but lacking the principles that alone can inspire an opposition movement in times like the present. That is why, aside from the vote, the prospects of the Progressive Party don't look good today.

The Defense Dept. on Nov. 12 reported 1,318 U.S. battle casualties for the week in Korea — largest weekly toll in a year. This brought the total of killed, wounded and missing since the war began to 125,887.

Bohannan Scores 1,750 Votes in N. J. 11th District

NEWARK — Election officials report that William E. Bohannan received 1,750 votes as Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from New Jersey's 11th District. This amounted to a little over one per cent of the total vote in the district.

In 1948 Bohannan received 2,387 votes for the same post; in 1950 he got 883.

Chicago SWP Local Invites Friends To Turkey Dinner

The Chicago Local of the Socialist Workers Party will open its post-election season with a gala Turkey Dinner on November 22.

An after dinner program featuring Joseph Andrews, former **Militant** editor, as MC and Irving Beinin, SWP State Chairman, as speaker, will follow. A donation of $1.50 covers the cost of the dinner and social.

The affair will be held at the SWP hall, 734 South Wabash. Reservations can be obtained by writing to the SWP hall, or call Harrison 7-0403.